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805 For this reason one hour of daylight is as good as another, and it does not matter at precisely what time a thing is done. An "appointment" is too sharp a concept for a people moving with the more deliberate cycles of the stars. "It will take place right now, at about three or five o'clock," a Tepoztecan may say shortly after noon. On the other hand, because the rhythms of the group activity change almost completely with the changes of the season, the months within the year are individual, unique, each with its appropriate festivals, to be anticipated and at last enjoyed. The next year again repeats the sequence and the cadence of the last. Only the irregular occurrence of war breaks up the rhythm of the years and brings about a longer cycle of activity: a slow crescendo of restoration, of anabolism, after sudden catastrophe.

462 512 The daily rhythm of the Tepoztlán man, as contrasted with that of the woman, is more dependent upon the alternation of night and day. Chiefly he works in the fields, or in other outdoor activities (as *arriero*, for example, transporting goods from the railroad to the storekeepers in Tepoztlán), where nightfall ends his labors. A comparatively small number of individuals, those employed in the municipal government, perhaps the storekeepers and a few others, follow a daily schedule dependent upon clocks and watches, and pursue much the same activity throughout the year. But most of the men leave the fields only when the day is over during the busy

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agricultural seasons, while at other times of the year they may be largely or wholly idle.

The daily cycle of activity of the woman, on the other hand, follows much the same course throughout the year, but is not so clearly ended each day by the coming of darkness. While he is led by the cycle of the sun, she is the servant of another cycle—that of hunger and its satisfaction. The woman's practical activities are organized around the preparation of food. Grinding and cooking, she is engaged most of the hours of the day and many of the night. The man fetches wood for the hearth from the mountains, and brings most of the water used from the nearest tank; the rest of the domestic economy is in the hands of the woman.

The day begins while yet the sun is below the horizon. At once five hundred or more fires are kindled by the women of Tepoztlán; the acrid, low-clinging smoke of the pitch-pine kindling rises from the valley. The housewife begins at once to grind maize for the morning *tortillas* and to cook the breakfast dishes. Usually three meals are taken, one at about seven or eight o'clock, another an hour or more after noon, and a third at seven or eight at night. Some people, for whom the night is cool and the bed hard, stir themselves once during the night to eat once more before returning to rest.[1] At every meal *tortillas* are eaten. If times are bad, there may be only beans besides, or perhaps not even beans. When meat is obtainable, it

[1] This is hearsay.

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is usually prepared as *clemole*, boiled and served with a sauce of *chiles*. This is a favorite breakfast dish. The wealthier and more sophisticated buy baker's bread for the morning and the evening meals, but eat *tortillas* too. The afternoon meal is much the same; it is likely to be the heaviest meal of the day. Then may be eaten lima beans toasted, or *tortas*, or perhaps chick-peas. Coffee or chocolate, and less commonly milk, may be drunk at any meal.

Intimately, when only the family is present, all sit together on the ground beside the hearth and eat. (Of course the well-to-do use tables.) If male company is present, the man sits with the guests and they are served by his wife, who eats alone. After breakfast the man goes to the field, or to his workbench; the wife resumes her domestic labors. The last sound at night, when all other sounds but the braying of *burros* and the barking of dogs have failed, is the slap-slap of the *tortillera* and the subdued, wet, rubbing sound of the maize-grinder.

A large share of the woman's life and interests is taken up with the *metate*, that ancient grinding-stone that has not changed in form or function for thousands of years. For some ten years a small steam mill has been in operation in Tepoztlán;[1] to this the women may bring their maize to be ground. But that most of the maize is, nevertheless, ground on domestic *metates* is due not only to the fact that mill-ground maize

[1] This is owned and operated not by a Tepoztecan but by a man from Xochimilco, Federal District.

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is more expensive, but to the fact that a woman's status (except among the few sophisticated) is determined in no small degree by her skill and industry at the grinding-stone. She takes pride in her grinding. Differences in skill are tasted in the finished *tortilla;* men even claim to identify the grinding of their wives in the *tortilla* they eat. A woman known to be incompetent or negligent at the *metate* is not a desirable wife.[1] One of the diseases recognized in Tepoztlán is *tlancuatlatzihuiztli*, "laziness of the knees." The swelling of the knees which signalizes this affliction is due, not to too much grinding, but to too little; it is thus shown that the sufferer has neglected her work. A woman grinds two or three times a day. On ordinary days the grinding for an average household requires about six hours. But if the men of the household are to go away to work on some distant *hacienda* where, nevertheless, they must feed themselves, the women may be up much of the night grinding the maize for the *itacates* and *clacloyos* which they will take along. And before a *fiesta* the entire night may be spent in grinding for the festal dishes, not only maize for the *tamales*, but also squash seeds and *pitos*.

With grinding, cooking, occasional sewing, a little caring for the children, and finally marketing, the list of practical activities of the woman is about exhausted. Marketing is done every day. Salt, *chiles*, sugar,

[1] Frederick Starr (*Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 35) says that among the Tlaxcalans a bride before marriage passes through a formal ordeal before the women of the neighborhood. This is called *tmaitalizli*, "trying the hand." She is required to grind and to make *tortillas*.

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and spices, as well as candles, alcohol, and kerosene, are rarely bought in quantities; the supply is replenished almost every day. The storekeepers make up little screws of salt and of sugar, to meet the customary demand of purchases worth one or a few *centavos*. Coming to the stores, and especially to the bi-weekly market, the women from all parts of the village meet to enjoy gossip and the satisfying ritual of bargaining for a price. This is a social opportunity confined to the women; a man may make an occasional personal purchase, but never buy the household supplies.

Between the short rhythm of the day and the long rhythm of the year falls the intermediate cycle of the week. Although in places a subdivision of the lunation, this period is everywhere more artificial than the others. In Tepoztlán the week has resulted from an adjustment of the Aztec market days to the European calendar, and from the introduction of the Christian Sabbath. Each of the eighteen Aztec "months" of twenty days was divided into quarters; on every fifth day adult men were required to attend the market (*tianquiztli*). These market days were also celebrated by games and festivals; they were a sort of compulsory holiday. Such regulations merely placed a legal sanction on a system of exchange of goods among the Aztec communities which had grown up to bind hundreds of Indian *pueblos* into economic interdependence.

No doubt the system of alternating market days in the valleys of northern Morelos preserves substantial-

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ly the pre-Columbian economic pattern. Only now the market days fall on days of the European week rather than on fixed days in the Aztec *tonalamatl*. In Tepoztlán, markets are held on Wednesday and Sunday. Larger towns have daily markets, with special days for more important gatherings. In Cuernavaca, these days are Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; in Cuautla, Friday is an important day; in Yautepec, one such day is Monday. Thus those who live by trade can make the rounds of the markets. A vendor of pottery in Tepoztlán on Wednesday goes regularly to Cuernavaca on Thursday. There he buys more pottery to sell on Friday in Cuautla. On Saturday he is back in Cuernavaca, where he buys fruit. On Sunday or Monday he is in Toluca where he sells his fruit and buys Toluca pottery. This he offers on Tuesday in Cuernavaca, and on Wednesday he is again selling Cuernavaca pottery and what is left of his Toluca ware in Tepoztlán.

Mexican towns are essentially markets; characteristically the only industry is household industry, and agriculture usually accomplishes little more than the support of the community. Everywhere the *plaza* dominates the town; the only large buildings are there; it is the center of social life. Even in unimportant towns like Tepoztlán the two market days break the week into two periods of lull separated by two days of special interest and attention. On these days the Tepoztecans come to the *plaza* to exchange not only goods but information. Besides the regular

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merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated refinements are promoted by the more city-wise minority—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

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fortunate in this respect. Tepoztlán is just above the malaria area, and although some malaria occurs it is generally contracted by Tepoztecans who have been working in the lowlands. The climate of Tepoztlán is one of the most healthful in the state of Morelos, and Tepoztlán has one of the lowest death rates in the state.

The average annual temperature for the village is about 65° F. However, there are marked daily and seasonal variations. In the rainy season mornings are usually humid and cool but by midday the temperature is up to 65°. The evenings are cool. During the months of November, December, and January the nights and early mornings are much colder, and the temperature drops to 35° to 40°. The cold works hardships on the people because of the lack of warm clothing. However, even during these months the temperature rises to 65° and 70° by midday. At no time does the temperature rise above 80°. While it gets hot in the open fields under the sun, it is generally comfortable in the village because of the many shade trees on almost every house site. The daily variations in temperature and humidity are partially responsible for the high frequency of rheumatic complaints and respiratory diseases.

The rainy season begins toward the end of May or early June and generally lasts to mid-October.[1] The average annual rainfall in the village is about 60 inches, most of which comes during the five months from June to October. In June and July the rains generally come in the afternoon and last for a few hours. During these months the working day in the fields ends at about 2:00 P.M. In August and September the rains generally begin later in the afternoon and frequently last through the night. However, there is much variation within this general pattern. Although droughts are not uncommon, excessive rainfall is the more common complaint. Sometimes Tepoztecans cannot cultivate their crops with plow and oxen because of the mud.

The crucial months for the corn crop are August and September when the ears of corn are filling out. The occasional lack of rain during these months is attributed by some of the older folks to the failure of the dancers, at the fiesta in honor of the deity El Tepozteco, to carry out correctly the traditional ceremonies. The coexistence of pagan and Catholic elements in beliefs concerning rain is shown by the fact that the saints of the central church, as well as those of the barrios, are taken in procession through the village to pray for rain when necessary. Hailstorms occur in the rainy season but they are generally brief. It is a common belief among Tepoztecans that the setting off of firecrackers or the shooting of guns will stop the hail.

The dry season begins in October or November and lasts for seven long months. The earth becomes parched and many of the semi-deciduous trees lose their leaves. Water must be hauled in greater quantities for the animals, the flowers, and the young trees on the house sites. Winds from the north cause small dust storms in the village and sometimes damage the ripening corn. Respiratory diseases are more frequent during this time of the year. Because of the dry season, only one crop a

[1] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 121, for description of the rains.

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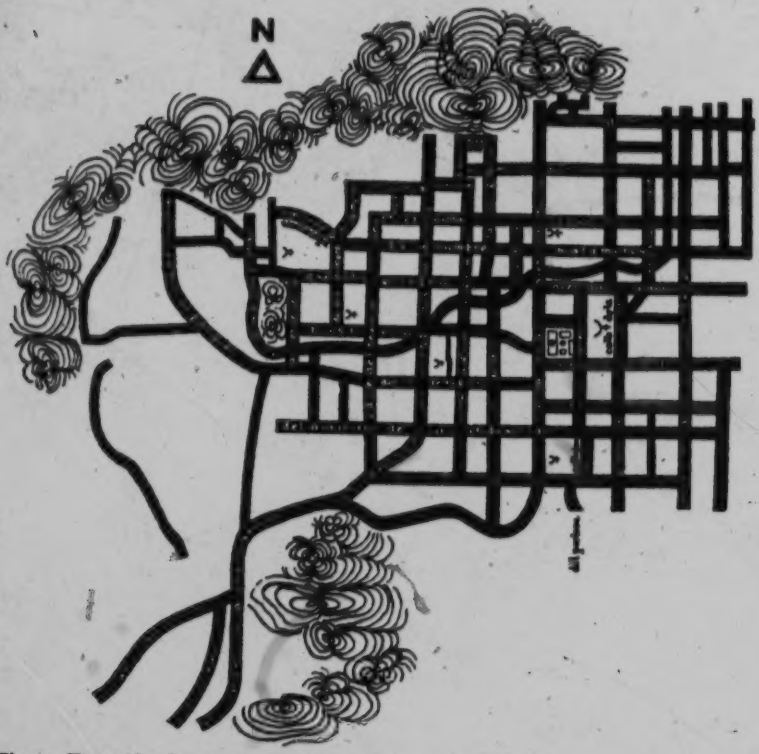

Fig. 11. Tepoztlán, showing streets, plaza, and barrio chapels.

363 numbered, but not in any systematic manner. Street names and house numbers [103] are not used by the local population nor do they appear on letters addressed to the [205] villagers from the outside. Since mail remains in the post office until called for, this does not present a problem.

393 At night the village appears even less sophisticated than during the day because of the lack of public street lighting. When there is no moon it is difficult, even dangerous, to walk through the rough streets without a flashlight or candle. Nor- 512 mally only young men venture out at night. Most people retire early, and the streets are dark and quiet. During the day the village also tends to be quiet, but many sounds can be heard: voices from within the houses, children crying or playing, housewives slapping tortillas into shape, people and animals walking over the stones, church bells, buses honking and racing loudly along the main thoroughfare, and an occasional lone peddler crying his wares. At night the only sounds

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heard are the serenades of romantic youths, an occasional drunken peasant being taken home, and the animals.

Drinking water is supplied by a spring in one of the surrounding hills. The water is carried to street fountains by iron pipes which were first laid in 1902. Every barrio except San Pedro has one or more of these fountains. In the large barrios, fountains are placed at strategic street corners and are more numerous. In all there

Fig. 12. The end of the main street, Tepoztlán.

are twenty-six public fountains in the village. Most of them are made of clay and cement; some are semi-enclosed and protected by a roof, generally topped by a cross; others are merely open tanks. (See Fig. 14.)

A few homes near the center have water piped directly into their patios or kitchens. For this privilege a small tax is paid to the municipio. There is no attempt to control private use of the public water supply, and this has in the past caused some conflict. In several instances, persons with a private water supply permit relatives, friends, or *compadres* to take as much water as they wish; sometimes a neighbor will connect his water pipe to that of another, thus avoiding the tax. This uncontrolled use sometimes greatly decreases the flow of water into the nearest public fountain, particularly during the dry season when water is scarce. There have been

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of a more cooperative society like the Zuni Indians where, for example, three women of a single household grind corn in unison.

Much of the men's work is also done on an individual basis. It is common to see men working alone in the fields and returning alone in the evening. Similarly, a man will go alone to cut wood, burn charcoal, or transport goods to distant villages. The care of cattle by young men and boys is also frequently done by a single individual, although brothers or cousins sometimes go together. On cattle buying trips to Guerrero, two or three men will go together for mutual protection but each carries on his own business.

On a number of occasions during the year the entire family may work together on a single project. This occurs sometimes during the corn harvest, but more frequently in picking plums during September and October. The shelling of large quantities of corn for sale also may be done by the whole family. This occurs more often in the smaller outlying barrios where the women are less reluctant to do men's work. Finally, the barrio fiesta generally requires a great deal of cooperative endeavor within the family.

The daily division of labor within the household reveals how the family functions as an economic unit. We present in Chart 1 a synchronic record of the activities of each member of a family which we observed for this purpose over a period of four days. This family is a member of the upper economic group and owns several plots of land and some cattle. The parents are in their early fifties and the age of the three daughters ranges from thirteen to twenty-four. Another daughter and a son are away at boarding schools and contribute little to the family in the form of labor. The record was made from March 28 to March 31, 1944, during the dry season when the father had little work in the fields. In addition, the father was slightly ill with chills and fever during part of the recorded period. This was not a disadvantage since it served to keep him at home where his activities could be more readily observed. The picking of *guajes* (acacia pods) fortunately began during this period and gave us an opportunity to record in detail how that work is carried on.

The following record, though covering only four days, shows in detail how the general work patterns operate during this season of the year. The father is at home and does many chores normally done by his wife. His illness does not prevent him from working; in Tepoztlán a man remains in bed only when seriously ill. However, he rests a good deal and reads, which is something the father in our observed family rarely does.

The mother is generally the first to rise and make the fire. She serves the meals, "cures" her husband, visits her mother, and is the only one of the women in the family to take an afternoon nap with more or less regularity. The item "Visits woman," which appears among her activities on Thursday, was listed because she had learned that this woman would visit the boarding school where the absent daughter was studying, and the mother wished to send her daughter a package by this woman.

[text continues on p. 72]

CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family.

Time (March 28)	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
A.M.					
6:00– 6:30	In bed	Rises, makes fire and coffee	In bed	In bed	In bed
6:30– 7:00	Rises, feeds cattle, takes them to pasture	Goes to buy bread, sweeps patio	Rises, sweeps kitchen, prepares utensils	Rises, goes for milk	" "
7:00– 7:30	Drinks coffee	Serves husband and self coffee	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Drinks coffee, eats and stores dried fish	Rises, washes, combs hair
7:30– 8:00	Hauls water, shells corn for mules	Resumes sweeping patio	" "	Smooths and folds laundered clothes	Breakfasts
8:00– 8:30	Breakfasts	Combs hair, breakfasts, serves others	" "	Breakfasts	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Talks with investigator	Cuts squash for animals, cooks squash, shells corn	" "	Makes beds	At school
9:00– 9:30	Goes to bed	Arranges squash in market basket	Breakfasts	Sweeps porch	" "
9:30–10:00	In bed	" "	Washes dishes	Washes arms and feet, combs hair	" "
10:00–10:30	" "	Goes to market to sell corn and squash	Prepares corn for grinding	Accompanies mother to market to make purchases	" "
10:30–11:00	" "	At market	Prepares and cooks stew	At market	" "
11:00–11:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
11:30–12:00	"	" "	" "	Returns home, polishes nails	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time P.M.	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
12:00–12:30	Feeds mules	At market	Grinds corn	Talks with recorder	Returns home
12:30– 1:00	Rests	" "	Makes tortillas	Feeds chickens	Does nothing
1:00– 1:30	"	Returns home, prepares lunch	" "	Helps making tortillas	" "
1:30– 2:00	Eats and talks with recorder	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	" "	" "	Eats	"	Goes to school
2:30– 3:00	Reads prayers	" "	"	Sews	At school
3:00– 3:30	Goes to bed	Hauls water for animals	Washes dishes	"	" "
3:30– 4:00	In bed	In bed	" "	"	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	Cleans dried gourds	Shells corn, prepares dough	"	" "
4:30– 5:00	Reads prayers	" "	" "	"	" "
5:00– 5:30	In bed	" "	Mends her clothes	"	Returns home
5:30– 6:00	" "	Feeds turkeys	" "	"	Reads
6:00– 6:30	" "	Cuts squash for animals	Knits	"	Talks to friends
6:30– 7:00	" "	Mends blouse	"	"	" "
7:00– 7:30	" "	Goes to visit mother	Grinds corn	Goes for bread	Knits

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Elder Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
P.M.					
7:30– 8:00	In bed	Sits in kitchen, talks with girls	Makes tortillas	Prepares coffee	Knits
8:00– 8:30	Gets up to drink coffee	Serves coffee to family and self	Eats	Eats	Eats
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed, takes medicine and foot bath	Prepares medicinal drink and foot bath for husband	Washes dishes	Knits	Knits
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	"	"
9:30	" "	In bed	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
(March 29)					
A.M.					
6:00– 6:30	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, puts up coffee	Rises, makes fire, sweeps kitchen	In bed	In bed
6:30– 7:00	Drinks coffee	Hauls water, goes for bread	Grinds corn	Rises, goes for milk	" "
7:00– 7:30	Hauls water	Has coffee and bread	" "	Waters plants, has coffee and bread	Rises, washes
7:30– 8:00	Takes cattle to pasture	Goes to wash clothes at *lavadero*	Makes tortillas	Sweeps, makes beds	Eats
8:00– 8:30	Breakfasts and talks with family	Washes clothes	" "	Goes to pick flowers	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Feeds animals	" "	Breakfasts	" "	At school
9:00– 9:30	Looks for carpenter's tools	" "	Prepares beans	"	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
A.M.					
9:30–10:00	Cuts wood for making chairs	Looks over trees in patio, plans to plant more	Washes dishes	Goes to pick flowers	At school
10:00–10:30	" "	" "	Smooths dirt floor and fills in holes with earth	Washes, combs hair	" "
10:30–11:00	" "	Hauls water for plants	" "	Sews	" "
11:00–11:30	" "	Feeds chickens	" "	"	" "
11:30–12:00	Goes to bed	Washes, combs hair	Grinds corn and makes tortillas	"	" "
P.M.					
12:00–12:30	Continues work on chairs	Prepares lunch	" "	"	Returns home
12:30– 1:00	" "	" "	" "	"	Sits in kitchen
1:00– 1:30	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
1:30– 2:00	Eats	Serves and eats	Grinds corn and makes tortillas	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	Rests	Shells corn	Eats	Sews	Goes to school
2:30– 3:00	Works on chairs	" "	Washes dishes	Goes to doctor for cure	At school
3:00– 3:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
3:30– 4:00	" "	Goes to plaza to buy redware	Knits	" "	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	" "	"	" "	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (Cont.).

Time	Father	Mother	Eldest Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
P.M. 4:30– 5:00	Works on chairs	Goes to plaza to buy release	Knits	Goes to doctor for cure	At school
5:00– 5:30	" "	Returns, goes for bread	"	Returns, cuts out dress	Returns home
5:30– 6:00	" "	Visits mother	"	" "	Visits friend
6:00– 6:30	" "	Shells corn	Takes image of Virgin to friend's house	Accompanies eldest daughter	" "
6:30– 7:00	Completes one chair	" "	" "	" "	" "
7:00– 7:30	Cleans up, puts away tools	Prepares supper	" "	" "	" "
7:30– 8:00	Rests	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Knits	" "
8:00– 8:30	Eats	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed	Talks in kitchen	Eats	Talks in kitchen	Talks in kitchen
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Mends skirt	Washes dishes	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
9:30	" "	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	In bed	In bed
(March 30) A.M. 5:30– 6:00	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, makes fire and coffee, sweeps patio	In bed	Rises, sweeps corridor	" "
6:00– 6:30	Drinks coffee, hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture	Rises, works in kitchen	Goes for milk	" "
6:30– 7:00	Hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture, shells beans	Makes tortillas, grinds corn	Makes beds	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
A.M.					
7:00– 7:30	Hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture, shells beans	Makes tortillas, grinds corn	Breakfasts	Rises, washes, combs hair
7:30– 8:00	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	" "	Feeds chickens, treats one	Breakfasts
8:00– 8:30	Hauls more water	Shells corn for mules	Breakfasts, washes dishes	Goes to buy beans for Lent	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Looks for tools to pick *guajes*	Helps look for tools	" "	Cleans beans	At school
9:00– 9:30	Makes new handles for ax and hoe	Waters plants	Cleans kitchen	Washes feet, combs hair	" "
9:30–10:00	" "	Prepares stew	Washes feet, combs hair	Changes dress	" "
10:00–10:30	" "	Picks over plants, shells corn, takes it to market to sell, washes clothes on way,	Goes to church	Goes to church with sister	" "
10:30–11:00	" "		" "	" "	" "
11:00–11:30	" "	prepares lunch	" "	" "	" "
11:30–12:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
P.M.					
12:00–12:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	Returns home
12:30– 1:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	At home
1:00– 1:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Helps prepare meal	" "
1:30– 2:00	Eats	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	Continues work with tools	Combs hair	" "	Cuts out blouse	Goes to school

CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (Cont.).

Time	Father	Mother	Eldest Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
P.M.					
2:30– 3:00	Continues work with tools	Visits mother	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Cuts out blouse	At School
3:00– 3:30	" "	" "	Eats	Goes to bed	" "
3:30– 4:00	" "	Goes to bed	Washes dishes	Sews	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	In bed	" "	"	" "
4:30– 5:00	" "	Selects leaves for tamales	Eats	"	" "
5:00– 5:30	Goes to bed	Visits woman	"	Goes to church for Rosario	Returns home
5:30– 6:00	Continues work	" "	"	" "	At home
6:00– 6:30	" "	" "	"	" "	" "
6:30– 7:00	Picks *guajes*	" "	Goes to get image of Virgin	Sews	" "
7:00– 7:30	" "	Gathers *guajes*	Grinds corn	Lights candles	" "
7:30– 8:00	Eats	Serves and eats	Lies down with headache	Eats	Eats
8:00– 8:30	Talks with family	Talks, washes dishes	In bed	Talks with family	Talks with family
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed	" "	" "	" "	" "
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	" "	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
(March 31)					
A.M.					
5:00– 5:30	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, picks *guajes*	" "	In bed	In bed

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (*Cont.*).

Time	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
A.M.					
5:30– 6:00	Picks *guajes*	Picks *guajes*	Rises, sweeps	In bed	In bed
6:00– 6:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Rises, goes for milk	Rises
6:30– 7:00	" "	" "	" "	Picks *guajes*	Combs hair, washes
7:00– 7:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	
7:30– 8:00	" "	" "	" "	Breakfasts	Breakfasts
8:00– 8:30	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	Picks *guajes*	Goes to school
8:30– 9:00	Picks *guajes*	Picks *guajes*	Washes dishes	Makes beds, sweeps	At school
9:00– 9:30	" "	" "	Bathes feet	Sews	" "
9:30–10:00	" "	" "	Goes to church	"	" "
10:00–10:30	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
10:30–11:00	" "	" "	" "	Shells corn	" "
11:00–11:30	Feeds cattle	" "	" "	Sews	" "
11:30–12:00	Picks *guajes*	" "	" "	"	" "
P.M.					
12:00–12:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	"	" "
12:30– 1:00	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
1:00– 1:30	" "	Prepares lunch	" "	"	Returns home

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family.

Time P.M.	*Father*	*Mother*	*Eldest Daughter*	*Second Daughter*	*Youngest Daughter*
1:30– 2:00	Eats lunch	Serves and eats	Eats	Eats	Eats
2:00– 2:30	Picks *guajes*	Sorts *guajes*	Washes dishes	Goes to cousin's house to bathe	Does school work
2:30– 3:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	Goes to school
3:00– 3:30	Waters cattle	" "	Shells corn	Picks *guajes*	At school
3:30– 4:00	Picks *guajes*	" "	" "	" "	" "
4:00– 4:30	" "	" "	Irons clothes	" "	" "
4:30– 5:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
5:00– 5:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
5:30– 6:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	Returns home
6:00– 6:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	At home
6:30– 7:00	Sorts *guajes*	" "	" "	Fixes dress	" "
7:00– 7:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
7:30– 8:00	Eats	Irons clothes	Makes tortillas	Lights candles	" "
8:00– 8:30	Talks with wife	Eats	Eats	Eats	Eats
8:30– 9:00	Goes to bed	Talks with daughters	Washes dishes	Talks with mother and sisters	Talks with mother and sisters
9:00– 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed

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462 The eldest daughter is also an early riser. She does not pick *guajes* with the others, but instead takes over her mother's task of ironing. Her daily routine changes little throughout the year and is broken only by knitting or going to church. She frequently lies down in the afternoon because of a headache.

The second daughter does a variety of work, much of which is pleasurable, like going to the plaza or picking flowers. She spends much more time on her personal appearance than does her elder sister.

The youngest daughter always rises last and leaves for school without doing chores as other girls of her age commonly do. Her day is principally devoted to school and varies little during the school year.

The record also reveals some interesting details concerning the division of labor among the women. Limiting ourselves to a discussion of the mother and the two older daughters, we find that their activities fall under the following categories: housework, farm work, marketing, sewing and knitting, and church attendance. Table 12 summarizes the number of hours spent by the women of this family on each of these activities during the four days we observed them.

TABLE 12. Hours Spent by Women of Tepoztecan Family at Various Activities During Four-Day Period.

Type of Activity	Hours		
	Mother	Eldest Daughter	Second Daughter
Housework	15	39	9
Farm work	21½	—	8
Trading or selling	8½	—	—
Marketing	3	—	4½
Sewing and knitting	—	5	18
Church attendance	—	7	5½

Of sixty-three hours of housework, forty-eight were done by the daughters, and thirty-nine of these forty-eight hours were done by the eldest daughter alone. She spent approximately five hours each day kneeling at the *metate* or over the *comal*, grinding corn and making tortillas, since this family lives too far from the mill to carry the corn there daily. The second daughter spent on the average of four and one-half hours a day at the sewing machine. This work varies considerably during the year, however, depending upon the fiesta cycle.

The mother's emphasis on farm work is clear, though this also varies with the time of the year. She devotes more time to trading than this four-day record indicates, since she frequently spends one or two full days a week at the Cuernavaca market, where she gets a slightly higher price for her corn and where she can make certain purchases at a lower price. It is interesting to note that although the youngest daughter goes to the plaza twice a day to school, she is rarely asked to do the marketing because the mother and second daughter enjoy this activity and prefer to do it themselves. The mother goes to the plaza once or twice a day and the second

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daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips.

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity.

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual barrio fiesta.

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later.

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil:* (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear

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erally speaking, the tools and techniques used in *tlacolol* are still known by their Náhuatl names, whereas in plow culture Spanish names prevail. Still another difference results from the location of the lands involved. (See Fig. 22.) With few exceptions the privately owned land used for plow culture is much closer to the village than the *tlacolol* land. *Tlacololeros* generally rise at 4:00 A.M., travel about two to three hours to reach their fields, and return home a few hours later than plow culture farmers. The building of the road directly through the privately owned lands has made this contrast sharper. It is not uncommon for some Tepoztecan farmers to take the bus to their milpa. *Tlacololeros*, however, always walk or go by burro. (See Fig. 23.)

PLOW CULTURE

The basic tools of production in plow culture are the ax, plow, machete, and iron hoe. Two types of plows are used: the *arado criollo* (wooden plow) and the *arado polco* (steel plow). The wooden plow (Fig. 24) was introduced by the Spaniards shortly after the Conquest; the first steel plow (Fig. 25) came into the village toward the latter part of the nineteenth century after the railroad had been built through the upper portion of the municipio. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 the steel plow was used only by a few families, and, as late as 1926-27, Redfield reported only a few steel plows.[4] However, by the early thirties plows became more widely used, and in 1943 most farmers used steel plows in addition to wooden plows, each being used for different operations. In 1943, approximately 213 families owned their plows. This number represented only 48 per cent of the families in the village who owned land. In other words, 52 per cent of the landowners lacked one of the basic tools for plow culture.

The wooden plows are made locally by several men who specialize in this work, and the cost of the wooden plow is comparatively inexpensive. However, the prices of both the steel and wooden plow have increased in recent years, so that now considerable capital is needed to purchase a steel plow. (See Table 27.)

TABLE 27. Cost of Plows, in Pesos.

Year	Wooden Plow	Steel Plow
1926	3.00	—
1935	5.50	14.00
1940	7.50	18.00
1942	—	30.00
1944	12.00	40.00

The precise date of the introduction of oxen to Tepoztlán is not known, but they have been used in the village since long before the Revolution. (See Fig. 26.) Most

[4] "The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very strong earth there are a few steel plowshares." Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 122.